



Quarterly Report
CROATIA: POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING AND PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM
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April 1 to June 30, 2001

I. SUMMARY

During the post-Tudjman era, Croatia has continued the process of consolidating its democratic transition by strengthening the country's institutions, including parliament. On May 20, Croatia held its first local elections since the Coalition Six defeated former President Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in the January 2000 elections. These elections were of great significance due to the expected devolution of power to county and municipal governments. In addition, they were the first real test of popular support for the coalition government. As a result of the local elections, Croatia saw an increase in the number of multiparty councils at the municipal and county levels, especially in the regions most affected by the Patriotic War, which were traditionally bastions of right-wing support.

In this political environment, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) continued its political party and parliamentary development programs. The political party program is working to ensure that: political parties strengthen their organizational infrastructure and develop relationships with other community groups; parties enlist more women and youth into party leadership and engage them in activities at all levels; parties link branch offices, elected officials and government representatives to voters; and members of parliament (MPs) and branch offices undertake coordinated voter outreach activities. At the same time, the parliamentary program is working toward the following objectives: parliamentary committees strengthen their functioning; MPs develop strategies to increase their effectiveness, become increasingly responsive to constituents, and engage in the work of their political parties; and party caucuses strengthen their organizational development.

During this quarter, NDI worked with party activists, women leaders, and party branches as they prepared for the local elections. Special emphasis was placed on pre-election activities with party branch offices in the war-affected regions of Croatia. At the same time the parliamentary development program continued its institutional strengthening activities, working with committee and parliamentary staff as well as facilitating parliamentary resource development. NDI continued its work with the civic organization Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG), as GONG conducted its election activities and continued its Open Parliament program.

As a result of its activities, NDI achieved the following during this quarter:

- As a result of the local elections, the war-affected communities in which NDI worked moved from one party to multiparty coalition rule at the municipal and county levels;
- Four computers were installed in the parliamentary reading room, which enabled MPs to better connect with constituents and parliamentary staff to perform their tasks more efficiently and effectively; and
- As a result of continued assistance from NDI, GONG conducted domestic monitoring for the local elections and was commended by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODHIR).

II. BACKGROUND

Croatia held its first local elections in May since the Coalition Six defeated former President Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in the January 2000 parliamentary elections. Because the election system is purely proportional with a five percent threshold, the parties of the Coalition Six ran independently in part to ascertain individual support and with the intent to form local governments in coalition following the voting. The biggest victory was won by the Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS), although Social Democrat Milan Bandic was re-elected as mayor of Zagreb. Across Croatia, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the HSS consistently topped the polls for the governing party with HNS a close third, and the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLs) struggling to pass the 5 percent threshold. Ethnic Serbs used their 80 percent turnout to wield new political clout, which helped the Independent Democratic Serb Party (SDSS) capture 178 mandates in five counties. Prior to the elections, the HDZ held 18 of 21 county governments; this has been reduced to six. These local elections demonstrate a new parity in Croatian politics and should be taken as a healthy dynamic expression of the democratic process.

The governing coalition still faces major challenges, as the June 4 departure of coalition member Istrian Democratic Congress (IDS) demonstrates. IDS left the coalition on the national level in part because a statute that would have legally established bilingualism at the county government level in Istria was not supported by other members of the coalition. Another factor in the decision, albeit somewhat less influential, was the partnership formed by the SDP with the rival party of the IDS, the Istrian Democratic Forum (IDF), in the formation of the government in Pula. However, this move does not appear to have affected stability within the government for the time being, as IDS only has four seats in the Sabor and one minister. The party has offered its continued support for government on most issues.

The local elections coincided with the decentralization of powers through the new law on local and regional self-government in Croatia. The government has clashed with HDZ and members of the governing coalition, which found that the redirection of 6 percent and 23 percent of income taxes to the cities and counties respectively would be insufficient to fulfill the local governments' stated responsibilities. These local governmental units are tasked with providing

citizens education, social welfare, healthcare, traffic infrastructure, and various other programs. Critics claim that without financial independence, the intended political independence of the local governments would be severely jeopardized.

Ultimately the changes of the past quarter, particularly those affecting the coalition, have been positive. The increased political parity shown in the coalition's independent campaigns for local government and the coalition's ability to survive the loss of a party are evidence that a democratic, tolerant and multiparty political process is evolving.

NDI has continued work with the political parties and parliament to help consolidate gains since January 2000. In this context, NDI is conducting activities that strengthen the infrastructure of political parties, link branch offices and MPs to voters, help parties develop relationships with community groups, and increase women and youth participation in political parties. In order to continue the development of parliament, NDI is also conducting activities that develop the role and functioning of committees, help MPs develop strategies that strengthen their effectiveness and become increasingly responsive to constituents, and develop the organizational structure of party caucuses.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Program

In advance of the local elections on May 20, NDI continued its pre-election activities, including working with branch offices in targeted war-affected areas as they prepared for the local elections, working with branch offices in other areas of Croatia as they continued their local election campaigns and supporting women in political parties as they continued to develop positions of leadership within their parties. After the election, NDI analyzed the results and began meeting with political party officials to plan activities. A summary of NDI's analysis of the election results is attached as an appendix to this report.

During this quarter, NDI focused much of its pre-election work on the war-affected areas, conducting training workshops and consultations to prepare and invigorate party local branches. In order to meet the needs of local branches and to help them reach out to the electorate, NDI participated in the design of a survey by PULS, which then served as a basis for local branch voter outreach strategies. Finally, in order to increase the connection between party branches, the connection between the party leadership and the party branches, and diverse participation within the parties, NDI worked in consultation with party leaders, elected representatives and women to strengthen the political party institutional framework and to facilitate the incorporation of these newer party branches in the war-affected areas into this framework. As a result of NDI's comprehensive war-affected areas program, multiparty councils have been elected in every area in which NDI worked.

Women's Leadership Development Seminars

HSS – Stubicke Toplice

In early April, NDI conducted an HSS women's leadership development seminar for 35 women participants, including four youth. The participants came from Sisak, Slavonski Brod, Karlovac, Tovarnik, Osijek, Daruvar, Zupanja, Jarsic, Stupnik, Jaska, Donji Miholjac, Novalja/Pag, Zadar, Kastel Stari/Split, Mursko Sredisce, Mackovec, Nedelisce, Garesnica, Stubicke Toplice and Marija Bistrica. The women shattered the image of the HSS as being a party with primarily rural older women activists; these participants were diverse: professional, employed, unemployed, housewives, farmers, young, middle-aged, new to politics, branch presidents and MPs. The seminar was co-sponsored with the party secretary general and his staff. NDI discussed election techniques as well as ways for women to strengthen their position within the party.

HSLS – Topusko

NDI held a women's leadership development seminar for the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLS) in late April. Fourteen people attended, including five youth, from Zagreb, Karlovac, Split, Plaski and Velika Gorica. The training was diverse as it included young activists and older party members as well as people from both urban and rural areas. Mirela Bosnjak, general secretary of the HSLS youth branch, said, "I was interested in finding out more about how to organize a campaign and how to strengthen my own position in the party. Before I came to this seminar I was planning to step out of party activities...after this seminar I changed my mind. The information I was given I plan to use for reorganizing my department at work."

Training for Political Party Organizers: Election Readiness Training

HNS – Osijek

On April 3, NDI conducted an election readiness seminar that was attended by 15 people, including three women and four youth. The participants came from the surrounding regions, including Osijek, Fericianci, Dakovo, Bistrinci, Valpovo, Belisce and Beli Manastir. There was great diversity among the participants, not only in terms of gender and age, but also in terms of length of party experience and professional background. Topics covered during the seminar included techniques for door-to-door voter contact, determining voter goals, and techniques for identifying voters and encouraging them to vote. Sonja Vukovic, a participant from Valpovo, stated in her evaluation, "We have been told about aspects of election campaigns that I never heard or thought about before. The concept and content of the seminar were very useful and it will be a great challenge to implement some of it in the field."

DC – Zagreb

Eighteen people from the Zagreb area attended this seminar for the Democratic Center (DC) on April 10, including nine women and seven youth. In attendance were also several of the

founding members of the party. Topics centered on voter contact techniques, namely door-to-door canvassing and identifying and motivating potential voters.

HSLs – Varazdin

NDI conducted a seminar in Varazdin on April 18 for 26 people, including five women and two youth. Attendees came from Varazdin, Ivanec, Kneginec, Ludbreg, Novi Marof, Vidovec, Sveti Ilija, Varazdinske Toplice, Kucan Donji and Martijanec. Although the participants ranged in age from the mid-20s to early 50s, the majority of them had only been in the party two years or less. All of the participants were interested in learning how to attract voters to the party and how to organize for an election. Zdravko Balazinec, president of the branch office in Martijanec, said, “My main interest was to learn how to organize a local election campaign. In the seminar we were given valuable coordinates on how to set a realistic vote goal and how important it is to have a written campaign plan – which all members of the campaign team should be familiar with and not only a few people in the party.”

HSLs – Zagreb

A total of seven HSLs participants from Glina, Split, Osijek, Bizovac and Zagreb attended a seminar in Zagreb on April 24. The participants, four of whom were women and one a youth, were selected by the HSLs based on their participation in earlier NDI trainings and their upcoming responsibility for training activists in their local and county areas prior to the local elections. Participants were trained on techniques for mobilizing volunteers, identifying voter targets and effectively organizing a campaign.

LS – Zagreb

Twenty-five LS participants from Zagreb, Daruvar, Krapina, Zlatar, Mihovljan, Vinkovci, Ivanec, Ogulin, Slavonski Brod, Ivanic Grad, Varazdin, Rijeka, Koprivnica and Bjelovar attended a pre-election seminar in Zagreb on April 26. Of the attendees, seven were women and eight were youth. As in previous seminars, participants were trained on techniques for identifying and mobilizing potential voters, conducting door-to-door activities and organizing more effective campaigns. Zdenko Hrsak, president of the LS branch office in Krapina, said, “I learned how important it is to maximize the party effort of getting in direct personal contact with voters. It is the only way of finding out what the issues are that are of real interest to the voters, and it is still the best way of increasing party visibility and credibility.”

HSLs – Slatina

On April 28, NDI conducted an election readiness seminar that was attended by 14 people, including two women and two youth. The seminar was organized following an invitation by local MP Viktor Broz, who asked NDI to work with the HSLs at the county level as the party prepared for the local elections. Most of the participants were relatively new party members and it was obvious that the HSLs has been broadening its membership and voter base. The two youth participants belonged to the community of Kosovar Croats, who moved to Croatia from Kosovo

in 1992 and have had difficulties integrating within the larger community. In addition, two other participants were Serb returnees to the area.

Pre-Election Party Consultations

HSS – Consultation with Secretary General Stanko Grcic

NDI met with HSS Secretary General Stanko Grcic on April 23 in preparation for the upcoming local elections to determine where NDI's resources could be best applied. Based on the results of the PULS survey, Grcic identified the Varazdin branch office as the HSS branch office most in need of NDI's assistance in voter outreach. He also requested that NDI consult with both the HSLs and HSS in Istria, where it was anticipated that they would form a coalition. Finally, Grcic made note of the fact that the women who participated in the HSS women's leadership development seminar returned to their local areas and staged or planned seminars to disseminate the information they received. However, as some women lack the skills and/or comfort level in public speaking, NDI agreed to provide assistance to them.

SDP – Secretary General Igor Dragovan

NDI met with Secretary General Igor Dragovan, his assistant and the international secretary on April 23 to discuss NDI's potential involvement during the pre-election period. Dragovan identified the branch offices of Sibenik, Zadar, and Licko-Senjska as those most in need of NDI's resources and assistance, mainly because they are newer offices.

HNS – Secretary General Srecko Ferencak and Party Spokesperson Boris Blazekovic

HNS Secretary General Srecko Ferencak and Party Spokesperson Boris Blazekovic met with NDI on April 27 to discuss the cancelled women's leadership development seminar and the party's voter motivation techniques. A seminar has been planned for October, with USAID Croatia Mission Director Pamela Baldwin invited as the guest speaker. In terms of election preparation, the HNS had four teams working across the country to motivate voters. Vesna Pusic, president of the HNS, MP and Zagreb mayoral candidate, focused most of her attention in the Zagreb area. In addition, the HNS directed efforts in the other areas where it believed its strength lay, namely in Osijek, Dubrovnik, Rijeka and Split, as well as other areas where the HNS is not as strong.

Party Branch Consultations

After completing the pre-election seminars, party seminars, and women's leadership development seminars, NDI held local party consultations at the request of the political parties' headquarters to identify the pre-election activities that branch offices were planning and to assist them in meeting any special needs. NDI met with members of the HSS and HSLs from Garesnica, Gornji Brestovac, Bjelovar, Rovisce, Garesnicki Brestovac, Veliki Grdevac, Dezanovac, Grubisno Polje, Bresanovac, Cazma, Dulovac, Koncanica, Sandrovac, Ravnes, Stefanje, Berek, Veliko Trojstvo, and Nova Raca. (Please see the following table for a breakdown of the consultations.)

Party Branch Consultations

| Political Party | Site | Date | Total Number of Participants | Number of Females | Number of Males | Number of Youth |
|-----------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| HSS | Cazma | 05/03/01 | 17 | 17 | 0 | 3 |
| HSLs | Zagreb | 05/04/01 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| HSLs | Bjelovar | 05/08/01 | 49 | 12 | 37 | 3 |
| HSS | Cakovac | 05/11/01 | 22 | 22 | 0 | 3 |
| Total | | | 93 | 53 | 40 | 14 |

Additional Consultations/Meetings

In addition to the above-mentioned consultations, NDI held special pre-election consultations at the request of seminar participants and party headquarters. On May 4, NDI met with the HSLs Zagreb Youth branch and discussed possible activities in preparation for the local election. NDI also met with the HSS and SDP three times each per week between May 1 and May 18 to provide assistance to both the parties' leadership and targeted branch offices.

Parliamentary Program

Consultations in Washington, D.C.

Karen Gainer and Mica Mladineo traveled to NDI Washington for the institute's staff retreat from April 12 to April 21; while there, they had a number of consultations that were useful for the program. The team met with Sean Carroll, professional staff member on the U.S. House of Representatives International Relations Committee, Sub-Committee for the Western Hemisphere, who provided information on the functioning of committees and their scope of work. They also met with Stanley Bach, senior specialist in legislative processes for the Congressional Research Service, who provided useful research materials, particularly with respect to the public hearing process.

Sabor Consultations

The parliamentary development team held a number of consultations in the Sabor on May 3, 2001. They met with the following individuals:

- Durda Adlesic, chair of the HSLs Parliamentary Caucus and chair of the National Security Committee, to advise her on her election campaign in Bjelovar.
- Zvonimir Sabati, chair of the Information and Media Committee, to discuss further work between NDI and this committee, namely in regard to freedom of information legislation. NDI provided written materials on access to parliament and freedom of information and agreed to bring the Canadian Parliament Information Commissioner responsible for the implementation of the Canadian Freedom of Information Act, John Reid, to Croatia for consultations with this committee.

- Daniela Sraga of the Sabor Information Center and Reading Room to discuss issues arising from the slow delivery of the new computers. In addition, NDI and Sraga examined the training needs of staff.
- Nikola Deanovic, director of the Sabor Office for Information Technology to discuss the importance of the delivery of the computers to the reading room, as they were specifically purchased for use by MPs and their staff.
- Zeljko Glavan, HSLs MP, who was running for mayor in Rijeka to discuss his local campaign. In addition, Glavan agreed to visit Gospić and work with the HSLs branch office, with which NDI had been working.

On May 8 and 9, the NDI parliamentary development team traveled to Vukovar and Osijek for election consultations with the LS, SBHS, and SDSS. While in Osijek, NDI met with Damir Juric, MP and president of SBHS to discuss his potential role in the Sabor as an advocate of Slavonian issues. A strategy was developed for him to work with other MPs from Slavonia to raise the profile and understanding of both MPs and the public on issues specific to Slavonia. They also discussed the idea of a regional caucus.

NDI met with Vilim Herman, HSLs MP and the chair of the Committee for Elections, Appointments and Administrative Affairs on June 27 to discuss ways to facilitate increased connection between the Sabor and the international community. NDI also thanked Herman for his support of the GONG internship program. As his committee is in charge of internal parliamentary budget and administrative affairs, its explicit support of the internship program facilitated its development and success. The committee is now working with GONG to develop effective ways to implement the program as it develops.

On June 27, NDI also met with Gordana Sobol, SDP MP and chair of the Committee for Gender Equality, to discuss public perceptions and misconceptions about the work of MPs in the Sabor. Sobol was receptive to the idea of introducing the public hearing process in the committee as a means of including citizens in the parliamentary process and increasing public support for MPs. The new law on gender equality, on which the committee will begin working in the fall, will be a good opportunity to test the public hearing process. NDI will create a template for public hearings, and NDI and the committee will then work together to make it suitable for the needs of the Sabor. Also discussed was the issue of the lack of resources and staff for MPs, which makes it difficult for them to engage in constituency outreach and to explain to citizens and party members the work of MPs. It was agreed that the SDP caucus and party would identify five activists to be trained by NDI to help MPs in their work and to communicate with the party and citizens details of the work of MPs.

Sabor Information Technology Development

NDI Director of Information Technology Stephen Jarrett visited the Sabor on June 19 to assess its technological capacity. The following is an excerpt from his report:

There were two goals for the quick assessment mission: to assess the installation of four computers with Internet access in the parliament's Information Center; and to assess the state of computer technology within the parliament as a whole.

The four computers recently installed in the Information Center are popular and well received by both MPs and administrative staff. These computers are already having a positive impact on productivity within the parliament. There are some problems with viruses, so an anti-virus package will be purchased and installed on the PCs. There was also some discussion on methods for stopping access to inappropriate websites.

The overall state of technology within the parliament is poor and getting worse. The parliament is trying to build a network but the project is severely under funded. In addition, a recent law reducing salaries and the demotion of the computer staff into a general services department have created a crisis of morale. Two technical staff members have left within the last 60 days. Others will likely leave as well. The department head mentioned he might have to do the same.

Given the current problems, NDI can best act as an advocate for the purchase and use of technology. The best approach would be to help the Sabor understand what technology can do, its costs, and how to convince others within the parliament of its value.

On June 21, NDI held a follow-up meeting with Petar Turcinovic, IDS MP and an active member of the Information Committee, and Bojan Klavec, secretary of the IDS Caucus. Both expressed their commitment to information technology and gave Jarrett a political perspective on information technology in the Sabor. NDI also met with Predrag Pale and Jasenka Gojskic from the Croatian Academic and Research Network (CARnet). CARnet has the money and resources to provide additional technology to the Sabor and has plans to initiate a wire network for the Sabor through a pilot program with 15 to 20 MPs.

Most of the discussion centered on working with the Information Committee to ensure that there is political support for the CARnet project, including the support of the secretary general and the speaker's offices. The role they saw for NDI was one of support and some political content assistance. For example, they would like NDI to bring in experts in parliamentary information technology from neighboring parliaments with similar systems, in order to provide a realistic vision of what could be achieved with limited resources; Slovenia and Finland were suggested as potential models.

Installation of the Parliamentary Reading Room Computers

NDI met with the Secretary General of the Sabor, Danica Orcic, and Daniela Sraga of the Sabor Information Center on June 13 to discuss the computers in the parliamentary reading room and the upcoming reception to formally introduce the computers to MPs. It was agreed that the reception would be organized through the secretary general's office and the Sabor would host the event and issue the invitations. June 28 was set as the date for the reception, to take place after the morning break of the Sabor session. It was also agreed that invitations signed by Speaker Tomcic would be sent to all committee and caucus chairs as well as to the USAID Mission Director Pamela Baldwin and other international community members. In addition, Sabor MPs would receive an announcement of the reception.

The Sabor, in cooperation with NDI, held the reception on June 28 and unveiled the newly installed computers with Internet access. Attending the reception were MPs, parliamentary

leaders, representatives from USAID including the mission director, and NDI. Pamela Baldwin gave a speech addressing the support given the Sabor by USAID and follow-up efforts by NDI, and then sat at a computer and sent the first e-mail.

Additional Parliamentary Activities

In an attempt to promote bilateral relations within the Balkan region, NDI facilitated the monitoring of the local elections by a delegation of Montenegrins. The delegation consisted of Miko Ilickovic, SDP MP, and two key SDP party organizers. This delegation visited the campaigns of the SDP and HNS and was a guest of the SDP on election night. NDI also coordinated a visit of the Sabor, and the delegation was able to meet with Branja Martincic, head of the Information-Documentation Department and the Library of the Sabor.

Croatian MPs' Visit to NDI Washington

Nine MPs from the Sabor visited NDI on June 12 as part of a longer study trip organized by the Institute for Representative Government. Scott Hubli, director of the governance team at NDI, and Robert Benjamin, NDI Central and Eastern Europe regional director, facilitated the discussion. The meeting began with a discussion about NDI's work in Croatia, and Hubli spoke at length about how NDI's governance team could support their work in the Sabor. The MPs asked some procedural questions centering on referendums and initiatives, and then discussed the new functions of local governments and specific problems in the Sabor, specifically the image of the parliament by the public. A lively debate ensued about the role of MPs versus the role of the government, as well as parliament as an institution.

Meeting Between Madeleine Albright and Foreign Minister Tonino Picula

On June 6, NDI President Ken Wollack and NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright met with Croatian Foreign Minister Tonino Picula and Croatian Ambassador Ivan Grdesic in a productive meeting. They discussed Croatia's prospects for EU and NATO membership, including the necessary reform of the defense structure. Minister Picula noted that Croatia is taking steps to ensure that social programs will be available to help transfer into civilian life the 20,000 members of the armed forces that would be let go as part of the reform plan. Also discussed were Croatia's relations with neighboring countries, namely Serbia and Bosnia. Albright complimented Croatia on its cooperation with The Hague, citing it as a model for other nations in the region to follow. Minister Picula and Ambassador Grdesic agreed on the importance of encouraging refugees to return, but noted that they had to deal with external problems that affect refugee return, such as bilateral cooperation with Yugoslavia and other surrounding states. In discussions about Croatia's internal situation, it was agreed that the departure of IDS from the ruling coalition was not destabilizing but rather a healthy evolution in party politics. With regard to the local elections, it was noted that media portrayals of a rise in support for HDZ were misleading, as the HDZ received the same percentage of votes in local elections that it had in the 2000 elections, demonstrating the existence of a core group of supporters and not a surge in popularity. Everyone agreed that the greatest threat to Croatia's stability was the relatively unstable economy. Many indicators have been improving, although unemployment is still running at 22.7 percent.

Civic Program – Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG)

Citizens' Hours

With the impending May 20 local elections, GONG decided to temporarily change the structure of its Citizens' Hours in order to avoid becoming involved in pre-election campaigns and appearing partisan. As a result, Citizens' Hours involved national ministries and local governments and were held in Delnice, Vinkovci, Slavonski Brod, Zadar, and Zagreb. Of particular interest is the fact that the Citizens' Hours held in Zagreb were organized for high school students in order to give them an opportunity to meet and speak with MPs.

Parliamentary Internship Program

GONG received official permission for the internship program from the presidency of parliament, which then proposed to the Committee for Appointments and Parliamentary Administration that they draft rules of behavior for GONG interns. Meanwhile, the 11 parliamentary interns were steadily working for their MPs, focusing on law proposals and drafts and communication with voters and citizens as well as monitoring media issues.

Visits to the Sabor

GONG continued its Monday tours of the Sabor this quarter as well as contacting high schools in Croatia and arranging visits to the institution and meetings with MPs. During the month of April, 170 students from high schools in Metkovic, Valpovo, and Zagreb visited the Sabor. In addition, the students from Metkovic and Valpovo met with MPs and discussed pertinent issues.

Lobby for New Election Law

After the first draft of the election law for the local elections was released, GONG made a list of "open questions" and sent it to all of the Sabor caucuses. The questions highlighted weaknesses in the election law in the areas of minority representation, campaign finance and the transparency of the resources of election bodies, the composition of election bodies, election monitoring, the announcement of election results, filing complaints, proscribing violations of the election law and determining the election calendar.

Local Elections 2001

GONG successfully mounted an election law education campaign for citizens and monitored the local elections. Through the use of their regional and central office databases, GONG was able to recruit 3,000 volunteers to monitor the elections. The volunteers distributed materials on GONG and the election law, oversaw information tables in more than 100 towns, kept the regional offices open more than 12 hours each day including weekends and monitored the elections (in some cases there were mobile groups of monitors traveling to multiple stations).

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Political Party Program

Objective: Parties enlist more women and youth into party leadership and engage them in activities at the local, county and national levels.

- During the election readiness seminar with the LS in Zagreb, a participant from the previous LS women's leadership development seminar made copies of the NDI signup sheet for each participant and told the participants that anyone in the room could call upon other participants for advice and consultation as they worked on their campaigns. This is a technique that she learned from the NDI women's leadership development seminar.
- Of the seven women that attended the LS seminar, six had previously attended the women's leadership development seminar and were active participants in the LS seminar. One of the women had begun working on a local campaign after the women's leadership development seminar and shared both her experience and specific numbers as a training model for the other participants.
- As a result of NDI's advice and support, Durda Adlesic stated that she was able to organize a comprehensive election campaign in Bjelovar in which she won the mayoral post.
- Participants in the HSS women's leadership development seminar returned to their branches and began directing party activities. The party secretary general stated that these women participants were an important factor in the party's success at local and county levels.
- Vlasta Hubicki, of the HSS, was the only elected woman county prefect in Croatia. She was the head of the HSS candidates' list at the county level in Krapinsko-Zagorska County. Ms. Hubicki has been an active participant in NDI's training and was one of the leaders at the HSS women's development seminar.

Objective: MPs and branch offices undertake coordinated voter outreach activities in targeted election districts.

Objective: Political parties evaluate their strategic, organizational and political performances and determine actions that optimize their strengths and minimize weaknesses. Parties link branch offices, elected officials and government representatives to the voters.

- LS members from Rijeka and Daruvar told the participants at the election readiness seminar in Zagreb about their positive experiences with NDI's Local Branch Office Development project in terms of promoting direct contact with voters. Other participants then requested the assistance of the party president in organizing direct voter contact activities.
- The HSS Secretary General said that the PULS survey, to which NDI contributed, enabled the HSS leadership to clarify the HSS problem in Vukovar County and to identify potential coalition partners.

- Prior to the local election, SDP member Josip Mikulic discussed the makeup of the SDP list in Dubrovnik with NDI. Having evaluated the potential strengths of the candidates and the interests of the citizens, the SDP then created a list with 25 candidates, of whom 9 were women including 2 in the top five positions, 10 were between 20 to 30 years old, and 2 were from the Serb and Muslim minority populations.
- As a result of the effort put forth by the LS branch office in Daruvar, the party retained its leading position in the city. Velimir Maric, a member of the LS in Daruvar, attributed the success of the LS in part to the information and resources provided by NDI.

Objective: Competitive multiparty systems develop in identified war-affected regions.

- The SDP in Vojnic was the most active during the pre-election period in terms of using direct contact strategies. They developed voter lists, a transportation system, field coordinators, and a door-to-door campaign. As a result, they won five of 13 seats in Vojnic, which was remarkable given that they held no seats prior to the election and that their branch was formed in 2000. In addition, it is significant that the five SDP members are of Serb ethnicity.
- In Dvor, which is on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SDP won one seat, the SDSS won five seats, and the independents won five seats. However, the HDZ/HKDU/HSP bloc won four seats and formed a coalition with the independent members to avoid SDSS participation in the Dvor council.
- Although the HDZ and HSP won a majority of seats in Petrinja, it was remarkable that there was a clear split between the HDZ/HSP, which won 11 seats, and the SDP/HNS/independent candidates, which won 10 seats.
- The SNS won the majority of seats in Donji Lapac and formed the local council. It was the first time in new Croatian history that one Serb party formed a local government.

Parliamentary Program

Objective: Members of Parliament develop strategies to strengthen their effectiveness, become increasingly responsive to constituents, and engage in the work of their respective political parties.

Objective: Parliamentary committees are strengthened to review legislation, provide oversight of the executive branch, and involve the public and stakeholders in hearings on policy proposals and draft legislation.

- Four computers with Internet access were installed in the parliamentary reading room and are being heavily used by both MPs and parliamentary staff, who have commented on their usefulness. MPs now have e-mail accounts and Internet access, which enable them to perform research and to communicate more effectively with constituents. Also, committee and caucus staff have additional resources for their research.

Civic Program (GONG)

Objective: GONG develops and implements a parliamentary internship program.

- The Office of the President has expressed an interest in having interns. GONG is now working out the details with staff members and will be placing interns in the office for month-long periods.

Unexpected Results for the Civic Program

- MPs used the “open questions” drafted by GONG to address government representatives about problems with the election law.
- In the final draft of the election law, the observance of the election by nonpartisan election monitors was limited to only the day of election. DC, in the name of GONG, proposed a successful amendment that extended this right so it would fall in line with international standards.
- As a result of its programs and maintenance of a volunteer database, GONG discovered that 15 percent of the election volunteers from the 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections were candidates in the elections for local and county positions and 10 percent were members of the election commissions.
- As a result of the election monitoring effort of GONG, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODHIR) indicated at a press briefing on May 21 that in all likelihood these would be the last elections it would monitor in Croatia. ODHIR cited both the effort GONG put forth in mobilizing and coordinating 3,000 monitoring volunteers for the local elections and the impressive work it has done in previous elections.

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

Political Party Program

In spite of the fact that the HDZ remained strong in the war-affected areas, there were still significant changes when compared to the 1997 local election results. During those elections, in many of these areas only the HDZ and HSP ran candidates. In addition, branch offices of the governing coalition parties in these areas were only founded in 1999 and 2000. Therefore, one can see three different kinds of democratic change in the war-affected areas: a change of government in such towns as Vojnic, Gvozd Krnjak, Ilok and Kistanje; the emergence of a strong opposition made up of Coalition Five parties in towns such as Petrinja, Slunj and Glina; and parties winning seats for the first time in such towns as Dvor.

During NDI’s work in the war-affected areas, people were encouraged to become involved in the political process and to create a multiparty face for the 2001 elections. The NDI program in these areas must be seen both in terms of the local election results and in terms of the long-term development of a multiparty system.

Parliamentary Program

Activities of the parliamentary program were limited during the election season. NDI conducted pre-election training that intensified with the addition of the war-affected areas program. In addition, NDI agreed to play the role of consultant to the creation and presentation

of a public opinion poll conducted in the war-affected areas by PULS. As a result, the parliamentary development team spent much of its time working with PULS to design and present the results to parties' headquarters as well as with the political party team to conduct pre-election activities.

As a result of the local elections, the tension and culture of control that existed during the HDZ rule should gradually be replaced with new relationships in the local community and between the administration and the public. However, two major observations can be made: the legacy of ten years of HDZ rule will take time and effort to overcome; and the new county and local governments will have to invest in the preparation and shape of the council process so they can be the implementers of transparent and political debate on local governance choices. Therefore, work with local and county elected councilors will be needed as they constitute their councils and usher in the development of local governments with greater connection to the citizenry. NDI plans to institute a program component during the latter part of 2001 that would draw from both political party and parliamentary development and would work with local and county councilors and councils.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Political Party Program

NDI will be meeting with the secretaries general of the political parties with which it works in order to determine what needs the parties have and how NDI can best support their further development. NDI will work with the party leaders to identify branch offices that would participate in NDI's Local Branch Office Development project.

Parliamentary Program

Although the Sabor is in recess in July and August, NDI will meet with parliamentary leadership and staff to determine the shape of future institutional reform. In addition, NDI will continue to meet with MPs, in order to shape activities for the fall and to support the process of committee public hearings.

Civic Program (GONG)

GONG will begin training interns for the program in the Office of the President. In addition, it will also begin the selection process for parliamentary interns for the upcoming academic year. GONG will continue organizing events as part of its Citizens' Hours program and conducting tours of the Sabor.

APPENDIX A

Overview of Results of May 20 Local Elections

On May 20, 2001, elections were held in Croatia for local units of self-government and 21 counties. Prior to the elections the HDZ held 18 of the 21 counties and the majority of local governments; as a result of these elections, all but four of the county councils as well as an increased number of local councils will be run by multiparty coalitions. The governing parties won the majority of seats at local and county levels. This represents a second electoral advancement of Croatia's democratic transition, which started with the parliamentary election in January 2000. These elections confirm the strength and confidence that citizens have in the SDP-led coalition government of Prime Minister Ivica Racan.

The results of the local elections have realigned the political landscape. Prior to these elections SDP and HSLS were the lead parties, with the other four, HSS, HNS, LS and IDS, as secondary partners. HSLS had been pulled into the coalition with SDP. In many election units the SDP and HSLS, as an electoral strategy, decided to contest the elections individually to test their respective strength. The same was also true of the group of four, the HSS, HNS, LS and IDS. The parties made an informal commitment to work together in post election coalitions. After May 20th, the SDP position as the lead party in the coalition was confirmed, HSLS failed to pass the 5 percent threshold in Zagreb, and HSS moved into position as the second strongest party in the coalition.

The election system is purely proportional, which of its nature requires parties to seek coalition partners to form governments. With a 5 percent threshold, it made sense for the parties to compete separately and enter into post election coalitions. While at first glance the Croatian Bloc – consisting of HDZ, HDKU, and sometimes HSP – won the most votes, they lacked the support from other parties to form governments. On examination of the results, it is clear that, where the coalition parties combined forces they were able to form governments for the majority of counties and local councils across the country.

The real surprise was the strong showing of HNS. Zagreb is a good case in point. Of the six governing parties of the coalition, only the SDP and HNS passed the threshold in Zagreb, with the SDP winning 20 seats and HNS winning 12. The opposition HDZ won 14, the real surprise of the night was Miroslav Tudjman's list, sponsored by his NGO the Association for Croatian Identity and Prosperity (HIP), which won five seats.

Across Croatia, the SDP and HSS consistently topped the polls with the HNS coming in a close third position and HSLS struggling to pass the 5 percent threshold. Two exceptions were in Bjelovar, where Durda Adlesic, Chair of the Parliamentary committee for National Security lead the HSLS list and finished with a strong 36 percent of the vote, and in Varazdin where HSLS received 25 percent of the vote.

The HDZ was reduced from a strong national party to a regional party with its strength concentrated in the "war-affected areas" and in Dalmatia. The HDZ won an absolute majority only in Sibensko-Kninska County, where it received 22 seats out of 41. The party has been able

to form coalition governments in only six other counties.¹ The HDZ popular vote was reduced to 25 percent of the vote, down from the 30 percent it received in the parliamentary elections of 2000.

War Affected Areas

In spite of the fact that the HDZ remained strong in these areas, there were still significant changes as compared to the 1997 local elections. During those elections, only the HDZ and HSP ran candidates in many cases. In addition, the majority of the governing parties founded their local branch offices in these areas during 1999 and 2000. Therefore one can see three different kinds of democratic changes in these areas:

1. Change of the government in towns such as: Vojnić, Gvozd Krnjak, Ilok, Kistanje;
2. Governing parties become the strong opposition in towns such as Petrinja, Slunj and Glina;
3. Governing parties won seats for the first time in places such as Dvor,

During NDI's work in the war-affected areas, people became involved and created a multiparty face for the 2001 elections. The NDI program in this areas must be seen both in terms of the short term elections results of these elections, but also as a long-term project, nurturing the development of political democratic competition and increasing voter education and participation in a democratic political process.

There were cases where parties with which NDI worked invested their time and efforts but the atmosphere in their communities was still not capable of supporting multiethnic candidates' lists. It is hoped that these parties will continue to work and understand that each election builds a base for the next election. .

Voter Turnout

Voter turnout varied from 39.8 percent to 55.5 percent, depending on the county, which was a decrease of almost 20 percent from the 1997 local elections. The parties that did not do well, such as the HSLS, LS, and DC, quickly shifted the blame for their poor performance to the voters; the most commonly heard phrase was: "our voters didn't vote." They stated that the Croatian electorate was torn between two polarized options, so voters in the center were not motivated to vote. However, they failed to examine the impressive results of the HNS and HSS, parties that are not strictly left or right oriented. The real lesson from these elections for political parties is that they will have to put more effort into motivating and persuading voters. It should also be noted that voters are suffering from fatigue. In the case of Zagreb, this was the sixth election since the parliamentary elections of January 2000. The results showed that the majority

¹ Splitsko-Dalmatinska County; Licko-Senjska County; Karlovacka County; Sisacko-Moslavacka County; Pozesko-Slavonska County; Zadarska County

of undecided voters were oriented toward the governing parties but they were not personally contacted and invited to vote.

Election Monitoring

As part of their domestic non-partisan election monitoring effort, GONG mobilized over 3,000 volunteers to participate in the observation of these local elections. According to a preliminary report issued by the OSCE, "Continuing a trend noted during the 2000 presidential elections, polling was conducted in a generally calm atmosphere and in accordance with the law and regulations. Thus, in 93% of polling stations visited, observers reported a "good" or "OK" overall impression. Party or non-partisan observers were present in 82% of polling stations visited. In an overwhelming majority of observed polling stations (94%), voter identification documents were checked properly... Domestic observer groups were very active on election day, deploying some 3,000 observers." The excellent organization of election monitoring of this election as well as previous elections is evidenced not only by the number of domestic monitors at polling stations but also by the peaceful participation of all persons involved in the voting process.

Coalitions

Only the HDZ had pre-election coalitions, which were formed with other right-wing oriented parties, such as the HSP, HKDU, HCSP, and HPS, on the majority of their lists. The governing parties had made a general agreement that coalitions were not mandatory but depended on particular areas and election results. Therefore, as the post election negotiating continues, this agreement is apparently not necessarily binding. The case in point is the city of Pula, where IDS was displaced from power by its partners. The SDP supported IDF and independent list candidates to displace IDS from the city government.

Split appears the most complicated situation. The HSLS mayor succeeded in having the HDZ support him for mayor with the promise of constituting a "professional and technical government without political affiliation." Needless to say this caused tension between the governing parties at the national level. The HSLS in Split, which has four out of 25 seats, is trying to "float" between the coalition of SDP-HSS-HSU-LS, which holds nine out of 25 seats, and the HDZ-HDRS-HKDU-HKDS, which has 7 out of 25 seats. This will create an unstable government and only time will tell how workable this arrangement really is.

Independent Candidate Lists

Independent candidate lists played an important role. The popularity of independent list candidates at the local level demonstrated that people are more interested in voting for people whom they know from their community rather than for political parties and their leadership. For example, in Zagreb the independent list headed by President Tudjman's son and the former director of the secret service won five out of 51 seats. In Rijeka the independent list won four out of 33 seats, in Primorsko-Goranska County it won three out of 41 seats and in Požesko-Slavonska County it won eight out of 41 seats. In the above-mentioned cities and counties, as

well as many others, they have been the deciding vote in which coalitions will form the local government.

During the work in the war-affected areas, NDI predicted that independent list candidates would be strong contenders. As expected they were present in every municipality and city NDI worked in. For example, in Petrinja they had five out of 21 seats, in Obrovac six out of 13, in Jurjevic two out of 13, in Aracic one out of 13, and in Dvor five out of 15.

NDI Activities in the War-Affected Areas

Introduction

NDI began working in the war-affected areas of Croatia in January 2001. The NDI team performed an assessment and discovered that parties in war affected areas needed intensive help in order to accomplish significant results for the local elections in May 2001.

Pre-Election Findings

NDI found undeveloped parties with spirited activeness. In all areas there was a high degree of interest in the upcoming local elections. The people with whom NDI met were, for the most part, enthusiastic, committed to their communities, and looking forward to the opportunity for change. The communities in which they lived had been significantly affected by the war, with many of these communities suffering from substantial property damage. Communities had also undergone significant demographic changes, with the exodus of Serbs in 1995 coupled with a large influx of Bosnian Croats and Croatian citizens moving into the area in search of cheap property. Few property issues had been systematically addressed. In addition, the local industries had been destroyed – some by the war, but many in the wake of the war by the privatization process, which saw industries stripped of assets and closed down. Unemployment was rampant, with the only employers being the government and international NGOs. A concern was raised that immediately after the Parliamentary elections the mood for change appeared to be much stronger, as people felt frustrated and let down by the current government because they had seen so little change for the better in their respective lives. The HDZ remained a strong factor in most communities and continued to control local governments and the all-important housing commissions.

According to these findings, NDI developed a program with branch office development and membership recruitment as the first step, followed by campaign planning, understanding local self-government and developing a local platform for the elections as the second. NDI's war-affected areas program was held in the southern and southeastern parts of Croatia, from Vukovar to Knin. The seminars and consultations were based on NDI's curriculum, the experiences from each seminar and consultation and the apparent circumstances and needs of those attending the seminars and consultations.

The program had four components: broad party trainings; the PULS survey; final consultations; and an evaluation, which facilitated the development of future programming.

Broad Party Trainings

NDI began working in Plitvice, Dvor, Vojnić, Petrinja and Lipik; these places were chosen based on their geographic location and their proximity to local branch offices. NDI organized seminars for party activists in the field and worked with approximately 20-30 people at each seminar for a total of more than 200 activists. Each participant was asked what they thought was the most important issue in the election and to list the five most important activities they felt should be done to run successfully in the elections.

Their answers and reports gave a fairly clear picture of their level of sophistication and knowledge in regard to election campaigning. In most cases, it became apparent that the most important areas to focus on were the identification of supporters and techniques for motivating voters. This is not to say that other areas of political campaigning were not mentioned. They were but only in the context of the three most relevant areas mentioned above as NDI was aware that there was only a short time before the election and that the participants had limited financial and human resources for campaigning.

Second Round of Consultations

Given the limited time prior to the elections, NDI made a selection of participants from the first round of seminars with whom to do follow up consultations. The criteria were based upon the parties' willingness to be open to multiethnic candidates' lists, to include women and youth on the lists and to try direct contact campaign methods.

PULS Survey

The second cycle involved using the PULS survey to identify and plan a local campaign. The PULS survey was commissioned by US Embassy and provided public opinion of the political situation in these areas. Key findings were:

- Personal contact was the most effective way to identify supporters;
- Voters wanted to see people from their city on the lists; and
- Voters wanted young people and women on candidates' lists.

Using the PULS results NDI worked in Vojnić, Dvor, Petrinja, Lipik, Vukovar, Donji Lapac, Otočac, Gospić, Knin, Benkovac and Obrovac. Many different suggestions were made about how to contact supporters. Once the supporters were identified, discussion focused on how to engage them in volunteer tasks. Considerable time was spent on discussing and illustrating ways to keep in touch with supporters. What follows are examples of some of the results.

Vojnić

Vojnić is located in central Croatia, belongs to Karlovačka County and is 50 kilometers east of Karlovac. People in Vojnić are rather poor and unemployment is high with most working as subsistence farmers. NDI worked in Vojnić with the SDP, which was highly motivated to

work and to change political landscape in Vojnić. Their hard work paid off with the SDP winning five out of 13 seats. This was tremendous victory given the fact that they formed their branch office in 2000.

Dvor

NDI also worked with SDP in Dvor, which is a city on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The river Una divides the two countries of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The mood in Dvor was frustrated by the fact that while USAID had reconstructed a bridge across the river to Bosnia, it remained unopened until 11 days before the election. In the election, the SDP won 1 seat in Dvor while the SDSS won 5 seats, HDZ/HKDU/HSP won 4 seats, and independents won 5. The HDZ and independents have formed a coalition to avoid having the SDSS participate in the government.

Petrinja

In Petrinja NDI worked with the SDP, HNS, HSS, and independents. The city itself has not yet recovered from war destruction but is moving in the right direction. Petrinja had premature elections in August 2000, when the HSP won 8 seats. In these elections there was a clear split between the HDZ and HSP, who received 11 seats, and the SDP, HNS and independents, who held 10 seats. The HDZ and HSP formed the government and the SDP, HNS and independents left the constituting session.

Donji Lapac

NDI worked twice in Donji Lapac, once with the SDSS and once with the SRP. Donji Lapac had premature elections in 2000 and the SNS won the majority of seats and formed the government there. As a result of the May elections the SNS won 8 seats, the independent list candidates 3 seats, the HSP 1 seat and the SRP 1 seat. The SNS retained a majority and will form the local government.

Final Notes

The work of NDI created the confidence for people to become involved and to put a multiparty face on the 2001 elections. The NDI program was an important short-term investment that will have long-term dividends. In all areas of Croatia the councils have elected multiparty councils, which in and of itself is a significant change from the single party HDZ councils that were prevalent prior to these local elections.

**Strengthening Parties in the Field
March – June 2001**

| | | Political Party |
|---|--|-----------------|
| | | Site |
| | | Date |
| | | Topic |
| | | F |
| | | M |
| | | # Of |
| | | Participants |
| SDP | | |
| Dvor | | |
| Vojnic | | |
| Dvor | | |
| Vojnic | | |
| Lipik | | |
| Otocac | | |
| Vojnic | | |
| Dvor | | |
| Vojnic | | |
| Dvor | | |
| 17/03/01 | | |
| 19/03/01 | | |
| 11/04/01 | | |
| 11/04/01 | | |
| 24/04/01 | | |
| 03/05/01 | | |
| 07/05/01 | | |
| 08/05/01 | | |
| 04/06/01 | | |
| 05/06/01 | | |
| Strengthening parties in the field 2001 | | |
| 10 | | |
| | | 2 |
| | | 3 |
| | | 1 |
| | | 2 |

| | |
|---|----|
| | 4 |
| | 0 |
| | 1 |
| | 0 |
| | 0 |
| | 15 |
| | 31 |
| | 5 |
| | 10 |
| | 1 |
| | 17 |
| | 3 |
| | 5 |
| | 3 |
| | 3 |
| | 25 |
| | 33 |
| | 8 |
| | 11 |
| | 3 |
| | 21 |
| | 3 |
| | 6 |
| | 3 |
| | 3 |
| SDP/HNS | |
| Knin | |
| Knin | |
| Benkovac | |
| 29/03/01 | |
| 25/04/01 | |
| 25/04/01 | |
| Strengthening parties in the field 2001 | |
| | 4 |
| | 0 |
| | 1 |
| | 19 |
| | 4 |
| | 2 |
| | 23 |
| | 4 |
| | 3 |

SDP/HSS

Lipik
21/03/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

7
10
17

HSLs

Plitvice
Gospic
Gospic
17/03/01
18/04/01
04/05/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

6
0
2
20
6
7
26
6
9

SNS

Plitvice
Donji Lapac
19/03/01
18/04/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

2
1
18
7
20
8

SRP

Plitvice
Donji Lapac
20/03/01
19/04/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

7
3
11
3
18
6

HSS

Obrovac
Obrovac
31/03/01
26/04/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

1
1
4
2
5
3

HNS

Osijek
03/04/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

12
3
15

SDSS

Plitvice

Vukovar

Vukovar

16/03/01

23/04/01

08/05/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

2

0

0

26

8

4

28

8

4

LS

Vukovar

Gospic

08/05/01

09/05/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

2

1

3

4

5

5

HNS/ NGL

Petrinja

Petrinja

12/04/01

04/06/01

Strengthening parties in the field 2001

3

0

8

3

11

3

SBHS

Vukovar

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Osijek | |
| 08/05/01 | |
| 09/05/01 | |
| | Strengthening parties in the field 2001 |
| 0 | |
| 2 | |
| 3 | |
| 6 | |
| | 3 |
| | 8 |
| HNS/NGL | |
| Petrinja | |
| 18/03/01 | |
| | Strengthening parties in the field 2001 |
| 6 | |
| 17 | |
| | 23 |
| Total # of Seminars | |
| | 36 |
| 77 | |
| 300 | |
| | 377 |

Women's Leadership Development Seminars – March / April 2001

| Political Party | Site | Date | Topic | # of Youth | # of Participants |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| LS | Daruvar | 30/03 – 01/04/01 | Women's Leadership Development | 3 | 22 |
| HSS | Stubičke Toplice | 06/04 – 08/04/2001 | Women's Leadership Development | 4 | 41 |
| HSLs | Topusko | 27/04 – | Women's | 5 | 14 |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | | 29/04/2001 | Leadership Development | | |
| Total | 3 | | | 12 | 77 |

SDP- Social Democratic Party; HNS-Croatian People's Party; HSS-Croatian Peasants' Party;
HSLs-Croatian Social Liberal Party
SNS-Serbian People's Party; SRP-Socialist Workers' Party; SDSS-Independent Democratic
Serbian Party; LS-Liberal Party; SBHS-Slavonian Baranjska Croatian Party; NGL-Independent
City List